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thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels.

This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents.

Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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though the local clergy from Passau and Regensburg viewed them as dangerous rivals, for these Greeks were scholars and men of action who had the advantage of speaking the local language. At first they celebrated Mass in Greek, which was as incomprehensible to the masses as the Latin of the Frankish clergy. Constantine then hastened to translate the whole service, which only added to the resentment of their competitors, despite the fact that he actually translated not the Byzantine ritual but the Latin missal. In Western eyes this was a drastic and unparalleled innovation. Whatever Rostislav's good intentions were, he was not for long in a position to support the Greeks wholeheartedly, for in the autumn of 864 he had been attacked and once more reduced to vassalage by Louis the German. Yet the mission prospered to the point where the problem of ordaining new priests presented itself. Constantine even made a visit to the son of Pribina, Prince Kotzel, on Lake Balaton, who became an enthusiastic admirer of the brothers' work and confided fifty young men to him for training.

Since it was obviously undesirable, if not impossible, for Constantine and Methodius to have their disciples ordained by the bishops of Passau or Salzburg, they decided, after three years of missionary activity, to journey to Rome, where they could obtain the endorsement of Pope Nicholas I. The brothers were by no means hostile to the Pope; on the contrary, in common with numerous other Byzantine ecclesiastics of their day, they regarded the Bishop of Rome not only as the patriarch of the West but also as the supreme head of the Church. News of their arrival in Venice inspired a special invitation from Pope Nicholas to wait upon him, but before they left Venice he died in November 867 and was succeeded a month later by Adrian II. Though the Frankish opposition to the Slavic liturgy had been transmitted to the Roman clergy, Adrian ordered the ordination of the candidates whom Constantine and Methodius presented, and authorized the use of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine survived his triumph but a few

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Pope Adrian that he even knew him, but after Adrian's death in 872, his successor John VIII sent a special legate to Louis the German with orders suspending two of the offending bishops and directing the primate of Salzburg to release Methodius and to install him in his proper diocese. Unfortunately, however, John was obliged to placate the Germans, and compromised to the extent of forbidding Methodius the use of the Slavic liturgy, though he permitted preaching in the vernacular.

Since 867 events had moved rapidly in Constantinople itself. Basil I, the bold and able successor of Michael III, whom he had murdered, revived the Byzantine navy, drove the Arabs from the Adriatic, and gradually reëstablished Greek ascendancy over the Croat tribes of the shoreline, who maintained their independence from the Frankish yoke that weighed upon their inland kindred, and therefore for the moment gravitated toward Byzantium. Basil thus secured not only the submission of the Serbs and the coastal tribes as far as Dalmatia, but also sent missionaries to baptize any remaining pagans. Dalmatia was then subjected in 878, and more missionaries accompanied the new Greek administration. Since the Bulgarians had been affiliated with Constantinople since 870, this date represents the high watermark of Byzantine influence in the Balkans. In 879, however, the Grecophile Croat princes were opposed by a revolt which brought the Dalmatian coastal area once more into the Roman sphere. This development defined the future limits of Byzantine influence. It remained dominant in Serbia and on the Croat coast as far as Dalmatia, as well as among the Slavs in Bulgaria, Thrace, and the Greek peninsula.

In connection with the Serbs, we should note here that the faith reached them from two directions. The territory south of Pannonia and west of the Balkan Morava River, which joins the Danube east of Belgrade, was evangelized by Roman priests from the coast as early as the eighth century. On the other hand, the conversion of the Slavs in western Macedonia,

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whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at approximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon the Slavic liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to explain his position, was again victorious on even this point. John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 885, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavic liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept conversion in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

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as the curious onion-shaped cupola so often seen on Russian churches. 346

Some Orthodox churches are built of ornamental stone, and colour and patterns are introduced in the exterior walls by the use of brick and stone in conjunction. This may be seen particularly in many mediaeval Serbian churches, and in Rumania the churches are often adorned with outside paintings.

But the supreme achievement of Orthodox architecture, if not of all ecclesiastical building, is the Church of the Holy Wisdom, St. Sophia at Constantinople, which the Emperor Justinian began in the year 532 and which was consecrated five years later. The architect achieved the feat of placing a dome less than hemispherical, and with a diameter of 107 feet, upon a square. Later the rim of the dome was raised and pierced by forty windows, the effect produced by the whole being of astonishing lightness and beauty.

In the interior of an Orthodox church there are ordinarily no seats for the congregation; the normal attitude of the Orthodox at worship is standing. Their services are long compared with Western rites, but the congregation stands throughout, including the sermon should there be one. The choir also stands, in a group with their choirmaster. They are usually out of sight and they wear no distinctive robes. The singing, which is often of great beauty, especially among the Russians, is entirely unaccompanied, no instrumental music being allowed in Orthodox worship. [796]

But perhaps the most striking feature of the interior of an Orthodox church to Western eyes is the great screen, called the *iconostas*.[1] It stretches across the width of the church, completely shutting off the east-end and hiding the altar from view. It must not be confused with the chancel screen of Western Christendom. Its situation is technically quite different—it occupies the position of the Communion rails in a Western church, and separates not the whole chancel, but the sanctuary, from the rest of the church. An interesting difference in terminology may be noted here. In the Orthodox East, the altar

[1] *Ikonostás* is the Russian and most convenient form of the word. The Greek is *eikonostásion*. The form "ikonostasis", often seen in English, is neither Russian nor Greek.

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icons of Feasts of the Church, often of the Twelve Great Festivals of Orthodoxy.[1] In the fourth tier are Old Testament Prophets including King David and King Solomon. Above this may be another row depicting the Patriarchs and perhaps still another filled with Cherubim and Seraphim. The scheme is not rigidly adhered to in detail, but the whole represents all creation, representatives of the Old and the New Covenants grouped in praise and intercession around the Deesis.

To the Orthodox worshipper the iconostas symbolizes the meeting place of heaven and earth: it marks the distinction and at the same time the union, of the world of divine truth and beauty represented by the sanctuary, and this imperfect world of human life symbolized by the rest of the church. As he stands in worship he contemplates this representation of all creation united in a symphony of praise and adoration. And the great doors in the centre of the iconostas mark the place where his worship reaches its climax in the solemn act of Communion. But the whole interior of the church is adorned with images in fresco or mosaic of saints and heroes of the Orthodox Faith. The triumph over iconoclasm was to lead in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to an outburst of elaborate iconography which characterized what used to be known as the "*Second Golden Age*" of Byzantine art and which made the walls of their churches a picture book in which the Orthodox found a perpetual reminder of their creed. On the walls of the narthex and the nave are depicted the great festivals of the Church, and series of ascetics, confessors, martyrs, doctors and prelates. In the half dome over the apse of the sanctuary is the Theotókos—the God-bearer seated with her Child in her arms, while high up in the great dome this whole iconographic proclamation of belief is crowned by the image of Christ, the rainbow-throned Almighty surrounded by cherubim and seraphim.

Within this building the principal act of worship is the Liturgy, the name which the Orthodox give to the service

[1] These are (not counting Easter, which is in a class by itself): Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the following feasts of Our Lady: Nativity, Purification, the Annunciation, Presentation in the Temple, and the Falling Asleep.

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which elsewhere in Christendom is called the Mass, or the Eucharist, or the Communion Serivce, or the Lord's Supper. There are three Liturgies in use among the Orthodox. The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is by far the most frequently used and is the normal service. The Liturgy of St. Basil is used on the first five Sundays in Lent, on the Thursday and Saturday before Easter, on Christmas Day and Epiphany if they fall on a Sunday or Monday, otherwise on their eve; and on St. Basil's Day (January 1st).

There is very little difference between the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; the former is a somewhat shortened form of the latter, the same general structure being maintained.

There is a traditional feeling among the Orthodox that the joyousness of the Liturgy in its complete form is not altogether suitable to the penitential season of Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays. On Wednesdays and Fridays during that season and on the first three days of Holy Week, therefore, the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified is substituted for the ordinary Liturgy. It consists of Vespers and part of the usual Liturgy, the significant omission being the act of Consecration. Those who make their communions at the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified do so from the Sacred Elements consecrated on the previous Sunday and reserved for the purpose. This explains the name "pre-sanctified".

The Liturgies are in use in a number of different languages. Among the Greek-speaking peoples the Liturgy is said in Greek; in Russia and among the Slavs of the Balkans—in old Slavonic, and in the several appropriate places the Liturgy will be heard in Georgian, Arabic, Rumanian, Esthonian, Lettish, various Finnish and Tartar dialects, Japanese, Chinese, and even German and English (among Orthodox colonists in North America). The Russian Church has spread the Christian religion to the north and across Siberia to the Far East—and everywhere it has provided for worship in the language of the people.[1]

The form of Christian worship has changed but little in the conservative East as the centuries have passed, and the

[1] See Bolshakoff: *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church* London, 1943.

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Liturgy is today practically the same as it was in the sixth century.

The part of the rite called the Prothesis, i.e., the Preparation of the Bread and Wine, has been transferred from the middle of the service to the beginning, where it now forms a complicated and elaborately symbolic introduction to the service. The congregation is not usually present at this first part of the Liturgy, the laity for the most part come in when the Liturgy of the Catechumens[1] begins. The division between the Liturgy of the Catechumens and the Liturgy of the Faithful is still preserved. The Catechumens are prayed for and then dismissed with the cry of the Deacon, "Let all catechumens depart", although it is many centuries since this had any practical significance. The Deacon still calls "The Doors, the Doors" that they may be guarded before the recitation of the Creed and the entrance upon the most solemn part of the rite.

After a few attendances at the Orthodox Liturgy those who are accustomed to the Roman Catholic or Church of England rites will soon learn to recognize the same general structure of the service in East and West alike, though the framework is filled out at much greater length in the East.

The outstanding feature of the Liturgy of the Catechumens is the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, preceded by the Little Entrance.[2] They are embodied in a setting of Psalms, Canticles and Litanies, the last being recited by the Deacon as he stands outside the Royal doors and facing East.

In the Liturgy of the Faithful we note the familiar sequence of Offertory, Creed (in that order in the East), *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts"—"We lift them up unto the Lord"), *Sanctus* ("Holy, Holy, Holy") and Consecration. But in addition to the large number of variable parts of the service in Orthodox worship and all the rich embellishment of Canticle and Anthem, there is also a difference in relative external

[1] Those undergoing instruction preparatory to Baptism. Beside being the name of the whole rite, the word Liturgy is also applied to each of two divisions of it known as the Liturgy of the Catechumens and the Liturgy of the Faithful.

[2] i.e., the entry of the clergy from the Chapel of the Prothesis, with the Book of the Gospels. It is "little" as compared with the "Great Entrance" later in the Service.

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796 emphasis, in dramatic stress. Thus in the West everything plainly leads up to the Consecration as the climax of the rite not only in its inner meaning but in its outward aspect. In the Orthodox Liturgy, however, the Consecration might even escape the notice of one who was not accustomed to follow the rite or attentive to note it. The Consecration is, of course, actually its climax in East and West alike, but in the East no special outward signs of it are visible to the congregation, the Royal doors which shut off the Sanctuary being closed.

On the other hand the Great Entrance is easily the most conspicuous part of the whole service. It corresponds to the offertory in the West, i.e., the bringing of the bread and wine to be offered at the altar. In the West this is the simplest of actions[1] and involves no more than moving the bread and wine a few feet from a small table called the Credence, to the Altar. In the East it is the occasion of a solemn procession in which all the clergy present and their attendants pass out through the northern door of the iconostas, along the front of it, and after a pause for biddings to prayer, in again through the Royal doors. All this is done with pomp and circumstance, the choir meanwhile singing the Cherubic hymn.

The deportment of the worshippers is to be noted. They take little audible part in the service—there are no hymns in the Western sense—but they often join in the Lord's Prayer aloud and sometimes in the Creed. They cross themselves [782] frequently (making the sign from right to left) and kneel or even prostrate themselves as devotion moves them. There is much freedom and spontaneity of action. Men, women and children are all gathered together in the nave, occupying any particular part in it which takes their fancy. They move about from one place to another if they are so disposed and go up to salute an icon or place a lighted candle whenever they are moved to do so. It is quite unlike an English congregation, in which all do the same thing at the same time. The Orthodox habit is more free and easy. But at the same time it is less so, for the Orthodox stands to worship, and this not simply in the sense of not sitting or not kneeling. It is more like standing

[1] But compare the Offertory as performed in Westminster Abbey and some other Anglican churches.

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to attention. If he is well brought up in this respect the Orthodox worshipper will stand erect with his feet together, his hands by his side, with head up and eyes looking straight before him to the east end of the church. His bodily posture expresses, and perhaps contributes to, the active share he is taking in what is going on. Ideally he is rendering praise and glory to God for all that He is and does, and at the same time he is presenting himself before God and submitting himself to the divine scrutiny.

At the time of Communion, the celebrant and other officiating clergy make their communion in both kinds, separately, as in the West. The priest and deacon then come out through the Royal doors and stand just outside them. The priest holds the chalice, into which the consecrated breads have been put. Lay communicants then approach and are given their communion standing, in both kinds, but administered together by means of a spoon placed between the communicant's lips. He then wipes his lips on a silk napkin which hangs over the deacon's arm, takes a sip of water and a small piece of bread (not, of course, consecrated) from a table standing near and returns to the body of the church.

The words of administration are "The servant of God, N——, receives the precious and holy Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, unto remission of sins and unto everlasting life", (to children "unto everlasting life" only).

At the end of the service all present go up to the Royal gates and in turn kiss a cross held out to them by the priest: and small pieces of bread which have been blessed are distributed and eaten.

The Orthodox rite is, generally speaking, a good deal longer than the Western, though not so much so as appears from the printed page. For at certain times the priest's part and the deacon's are going on simultaneously—the deacon being outside the iconostas and leading the devotions of the people in a Litany, while the priest is saying the prayers allotted to him within the Sanctuary. Still, Orthodox services are sometimes of great length, the Russians in particular having long been notorious in this respect, though modern times have brought some concessions to human frailty. "God grant us His special

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• 796 aid to get through the whole of this present week. As for the Muscovites their feet must surely be of iron"—was the pathetic lament of the Archdeacon of Aleppo who was in Moscow for Holy Week and Easter in the year 1656. He complained bitterly of services which lasted from "early dawn" until "the eleventh hour".[1]

The Orthodox Liturgy has been frequently described.[2] The Daily Offices of the Orthodox Church, however, i.e., its regular liturgical services other than the Liturgy, are perhaps not so familiar, and the structure and shape of the service are not so easy to grasp. Even with a translation before him the reader is daunted by a bewildering variety of rubrics and subtitles of portions of the service. Certain details strike him at once as curious. The *Magnificat* is a morning canticle, for instance, and the *Te Deum* does not appear at all in the regular sequence of liturgical services. The *Gloria in excelsis* is said at Mattins and at Compline, and the Nicene Creed at the midnight service and Compline. There is also a richness, variety and flexibility about the Orthodox offices in the highest degree contrasted with the sober regularity of our own.

Theoretically the daily offices—Vespers, Compline, the midnight service, Mattins, Prime, Terce, Sext and None—are spread out over the twenty-four hours to form one unbroken offering of prayer and praise. In practice, however, they are, at least in parish churches, grouped together. The recitation of None, Vespers and Compline constitutes the evening service; the midnight service, Mattins and Prime are said together as the morning service, while Terce and Sext are combined with the Liturgy at some convenient hour, perhaps about ten o'clock in the morning. This grouping of the offices may vary somewhat on Sundays and the great festivals, when the all-night vigil service, consisting of Vespers, Mattins and Prime, is recited at about six o'clock on the evening before. In monasteries where everything is sung in full, and slowly, this service

[1] *The Travels of Macarius*, p. 46.

[2] For the text see: *Brightman Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896.

The Russian novelist Gogol wrote a mystical commentary on the Liturgy which has been translated into English: *Meditations on the Divine Liturgy*, London, 1926.

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may last literally all night, but as used in parish churches it takes about two hours. 796

In common with the rest of Christendom the Orthodox Church uses the Psalter and lections from the rest of Holy Scripture in the structure of its services. But the characteristic feature of Orthodoxy in this regard is its inclusion of a very large element of religious poetry. Something more will be said about this later on.

Two of the many books required by the officiant are known as the "Apostle" and the "Gospel". The four Gospels are included in the latter, while the former contains the Acts of the Apostles as well as the Epistles. The Epistle and Gospel of the day are read at the Liturgy according to a fixed order, and the Gospel is read at Mattins also. In addition to the normal division into chapters and verses the books are also portioned out into sections and the order in which these sections are to be used is given at the end of the books. For each day in each week of the year, beginning at Easter, the proper section is shown, and there are special lections provided for the greater festivals and for the Occasional Offices.

The Psalter is used in three ways. First, each of the offices has its own fixed psalms to be recited daily. In addition to this the whole Psalter is divided into twenty sections called *Kathismata*, and each *Kathisma* again into three *Staseis*. The *Gloria* is said at the end of each *Stasis*, not at the end of each psalm. Thus arranged the Psalter is used at Mattins and Vespers, in addition to their fixed psalms. In Lent all twenty *Kathismata* are read through twice in each week. From Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday they are omitted altogether. But during the rest of the year two *Kathismata* are said at Mattins and one at Vespers and thus the recitation of the Psalter is more or less completed in one week. The third manner in which the Psalter is used is by the incorporation into the service of detached verses from the psalms, singly or in groups. For example, two verses (hardly ever consecutive) of a psalm are said before the Epistle in the Liturgy, and repeated in the offices. They are called the *prokeimenon* of the day.

Such then roughly is the use of the psalms and lessons. The actual prayers in the narrower sense of the word, which

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796 are used in the office, are many of them very beautiful. They are often long and couched in poetic phraseology, quite different in form from the concise and regular Western Collect. Frequently they are said silently by the priest while the choir are singing their part. Thus while the reader reads the six psalms at Mattins, the priest recites the twelve morning prayers, the first three within the Altar (i.e., in Western phraseology, the Sanctuary), and the remainder outside the iconostas, facing the Royal doors. The same is true of the Seven Prayers of Light at Vespers. The following, which is said at all the hours, may be given as an example:

> "O thou who at all times and seasons in heaven and earth art worshipped and glorified, Christ our God, long-suffering, pitiful and all-compassionate, who lovest the righteous and pitiest sinners, who callest all to salvation through the gospel of thy coming kingdom, do thou, O Lord, receive our prayers at this time, and guide our lives in thy statutes. Sanctify our souls, cleanse our bodies, correct our thoughts, purify our hearts, and deliver us from all affliction, evil and pain. Defend us by thy holy angels, that, being guarded and guided by their ranks, we may come to the unity of the faith and the knowledge of thine unapproachable glory, who art blessed to ages of ages. Amen."

But the bulk of the Orthodox services consist of ecclesiastical poetry. It has been computed that poetry comprises 80 per cent of the vast contents of the service books, and it is made up for the most part of short hymns. The word "hymn" is not here used in the modern and Western sense with its implication of metre and perhaps rhyme. They are rhythmical compositions in poetical language—hymns in the sense that the *Gloria in excelsis* may be so called. A general name which covers a large number of them is *troparion* (Slavonic: *tropar*), and the Orthodox services are festooned with them, strung together with *Glorias* and broken verses from the psalms like pearls on a string. The number of different sorts of *troparia* is large and the total of all sorts must run into many thousands. The deacon Romanus, who lived about A.D. 500, is credited with the

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composition of over a thousand *kontakia*. A *kontakion* is one of those short "hymns" summing up the life of a saint or giving the gist of the occasion for which it is used. This is the *kontakion* of Easter Day: 796

> "Thou, O Immortal, thou didst descend into the tomb, yet didst thou overthrow the might of Hades, O Christ our God; and thou didst arise as Victor, saying to the Ointment-bearers—Hail! Thou didst give peace to thine Apostles, who dost cause them that are fallen to arise."

A *Theotókion* is a hymn about or addressed to Our Lady:

> "Formed wert thou to be the dwelling of light, pure and most holy Mother and Virgin, who didst give birth to Christ the King of all and the Enlightener of them that sit in darkness: whence with faith we bless thee."

A *Stavro-theotókion* is the same, but contains also a reference to the Cross:

> "Standing by the Cross of thy Son and the Son of God, and beholding his long-suffering, with tears, pure Mother, thou saidst, Woe is me! Why sufferest thou thus unjustly, my Son, Word of God, for the race of men?"

These must suffice as illustrations of the three or four dozen different varieties of *troparia*. Many of them are of great beauty. A few have been translated, put into modern dress, and become favourites in our hymn books. Thus the original of "Hail, gladdening Light" is the *troparion* which occupies in the Orthodox Vespers the position which *Magnificat* holds in the West.

> "Joyful Light of the holy glory of the Father, Immortal, Heavenly, Holy, Blessed O Jesu Christ; we, having come to the setting of the sun and beholding the evening light, hymn God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. It is meet at all times that thou shouldst be hymned with auspicious voices, Son of God, Giver of Life: wherefore the world glorifieth thee."

It has been sung at Vespers at least since the time of St. Basil.

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796 who ascribes it to the martyr Athenogenes, about A.D. 175. "The day is past and over", "Stars of the morning", "The Day of Resurrection", "Come, ye faithful, raise the strain", "Fierce raged the tempest", and others are all examples of modern renderings of Orthodox *troparia*.

The *troparia* have been likened to pearls on a string. One might also think of them as pieces of mosaic fitted together into an intricate pattern which can itself be picked up as a whole and placed here or there as required. Such is that very important element in Orthodox worship known as a *Kanon*, some rough and generalized description of which is necessary in even this brief survey. There are *kanons* of the great festivals, most Saints' days have their *kanons*, and some have more than one, and there are *kanons* in some of the Occasional Offices. One of the best known composers of *kanons* is St. John Damascene, another is Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth century, and many *kanons* are of great antiquity. Their structure is as follows: three, four, five or more *troparia* (the number varies) form an *ode*, and nine *odes* make a *kanon*. But in addition to their own subject-matter the *odes* are supposed to conform to, or contain some allusion to, certain scriptural prototypes.
These are:—

(1) The Song of Israel (Exod. xv, 1–21).
(2) The Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii, 1–44).
(3) The Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii, 1–11).
(4) The Prayer of Habakkuk (iii, 1–19).
(5) The Prayer of Isaiah (xxvi, 9–21).
(6) The Prayer of Jonah (ii, 2–10).
(7) The Prayer of the Three Children (from the Apocryphal addition to the third chapter of the Book of Daniel).
(8) The *Benedicite*.
(9) The *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*.

These scriptural *odes* are taken as covering the whole field of religious emotional experience, and whatever be the occasion for which the *kanon* is written, its *odes* are skilfully constructed to carry the mind back to the corresponding scriptural *ode*. Further, each *ode* begins with a verse called a *heirmos*, setting

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the rhythmic scheme for the following verses, and ends with a *theotokion* (see above). Various other sorts of *troparia* are inserted at fixed places as the *kanon* progresses, and after *Ode* 6 there may be a whole group of them, beginning with a *kontakion*; and even a litany and a lection. 796

The *Ectine* or Litany is another element which enters freely into the composition of Orthodox services. There are four forms of Litany used both in the Liturgy and the offices: the Great Litany, the Little Litany, the Increased Litany (so called from its triple response) and the Petitioning Litany. To these may be added the Litany of the Catechumens which belongs to the Liturgy alone, and the Litany of the Faithful Departed which is said on occasion at the Liturgy, and in the Office of the Dead. The Litanies are said by the deacon standing before the Royal gates. He holds the end of his stole in his right hand and crosses himself with it before he bows at the end of each petition. The Litany ends with an "exclamation" by the priest, which is the concluding phrases of the prayer which he has been saying secretly during the singing of the Litany. As an example the Petitioning Litany is here given (from King's translation of Vespers):

Deacon: Let us compleat our evening supplication to the Lord.
Choir: Lord, have mercy upon us.
Deacon: Protect us, save us, be merciful unto us, and preserve us by thy grace, O God.
Choir: Lord, have mercy upon us.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord that we may finish this evening in holiness, peace, and innocence.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for the angel of peace, the faithful guide and keeper of our souls and bodies.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for pardon and remission of our sins and offences.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for all things good and profitable for our souls and for the peace of the world.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

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•796 *Deacon:* Let us beseech the Lord that we may end the rest of our days in peace and repentance.

Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord that the last period of our lives may be suitable to our Christian profession, without pain and confusion of face, that we may give a good answer at the dreadful tribunal of Christ.

Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon: In remembrance of our most holy, most pure, most blessed and glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and ever-virgin Mary, with all Saints, we commend ourselves and each other, and our whole life to Christ our God.

Choir: To thee, O Lord.

Exclamation

Priest: For thou art the blessed God, the Lover of mankind, and to thee, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, we offer our praise, now and for ever, even unto ages of ages.

Choir: Amen.

The *Trisagion* has its place at the beginning of the Daily Offices and of many other services also. In its extended form it runs as follows:

O Holy God, O Holy Mighty, O Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us (*thrice*).

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and for ever, even unto ages of ages. Amen.

O Most Holy Trinity, have mercy upon us; O Lord, purify us from our sins, and forgive us our transgressions, O Lord: O Holy, look down upon us, and heal our infirmities for thy Name's sake.

Lord, have mercy upon us (*thrice*), and this is followed by the *Gloria* again, and the Lord's Prayer.[1]

One sound will be heard echoing insistently throughout

[1] For further details about the Daily Offices and a description of the Occasional Offices of the Orthodox Church, reference may be made to the writer's article in *Liturgy and Worship* (S.P.C.K., 1932), upon which most of the foregoing is based.

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Orthodox worship, and that is the praise of the Mother of God. The poetic language of the "hymns", the discursiveness of the phraseology and the repetitions alike lend themselves to the expressing of a devotion which seems, at times, to have no bounds. The *Theotókos*, the God-bearer in her purity, her humility and the glory of her destiny is a theme of which Orthodox worship never tires. Thought and language are ransacked to add to the profusion of epithets and titles of honour which are showered upon her to stress the faith of the Orthodox in the basic truth of Christianity, the Incarnation of the Son of God. It reaches its climax in the Akathist Hymn[1] which is sung either in part or wholly once a week during the first five weeks of Lent. It is the most celebrated poetic achievement of the Byzantine Church and was traditionally attributed to the Patriarch Sergius, who was said to have composed it in thanksgiving for the miraculous deliverance of the City in A.D. 626 (see p. 41) by the protective action of Our Lady. The attribution may not be able to bear the searchlight of historical criticism, but that matters little. The Akathist hymn still expresses at its highest that disinterested and exuberant praise of her who gave human birth to the child Who was God, which from early times has been woven into the very texture of Orthodox worship.

[1] An English translation was published by the St. Dominic Press in 1934.

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781 the machine, to the worker in the fields, to the housewife and the mother who teaches her children the Orthodox faith?

All generalizations are perilous and break down somewhere. There are marked differences between Greek and Slav, and again within the Slavs themselves. For instance, the Southern Slavs have perhaps never been the enthusiastic churchgoers that their cousins the Russians have been.

If we ask in what manner a man is conscious of his religion we shall get different answers. In some religions he is conscious of it in terms of fear. The Western man or woman is probably aware of it primarily in terms of duty, of the claims it makes upon him in respect of conduct. I am talking about its primary impact and his immediate response, if he makes any. Doubtless many other things follow.

But one might perhaps risk the assertion that the Orthodox are conscious of their religion primarily in terms of the reality of the unseen world and the permeation of this world by the other. Orthodoxy is meeting, the meeting of two worlds, the contact of the material and the spiritual and even the penetration of the material by the spiritual.

When the Greek stands in Church, this is what he is aware of and here he finds it symbolized. The space where he stands, before the Iconostas, is this world, behind the Iconostas, is the other world. There they meet and there, as he makes his communion, they meet again not in symbol but in fact, in his own person. The icon which he salutes in reverence, he looks not at, but through, for it is (among other things) a window opening upon the spiritual world.

All this is because God Himself came from the heavenly world and entered the earthly, and what is more, stayed in it. The faith, the doctrinal statements to which all alike, both clergy and laity, adhere so passionately, are but the safeguarding shrine of this commanding truth and all that it implies.

781 This explains the central position which Easter occupies
• 796 in the spiritual life of Orthodoxy. The Great Service takes place at midnight and it has been frequently described. It is preceded by a procession outside the Church, which represents a fruitless search for the body of Christ. Then follow the joyful announcement "Christ is Risen", and the Easter Liturgy

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to which succeed domestic rejoicings which may last most of the night. For Christ has plunged into the abysses of this world and deeper still, to return with the new life of restorative power which shall claim not only the hearts of men but the whole cosmos for light and truth. Fedotov[1] draws attention to the figure of Cosmos in Greek icons which represent the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The Apostles are grouped around Our Lady in the upper room and the flickering tongues of fire play upon the head of each, and there is another figure in the picture who also shares in the out-pouring of the Spirit. It is "King Cosmos", a crowned and bearded man who is apparently coming up from below, out of the earth.

But it is expressed and preserved in other more homely and intimate ways, and the Church's touch upon Nature is repeated as the year unfolds. New mown hay, just as it is with the flowers that fell with it, is brought in armfuls and strewn on the floor of the church at Whitsuntide, for Pentecost was one of the first of Harvest Festivals. On the Feast of the Transfiguration which means much for Orthodoxy, grapes are blessed and distributed. "As the water is changed by Nature into the blood of the grape," a Serb said to me, "so by a higher power the blood of the grape is changed into the Blood of Christ." Once more that world penetrates this to transfigure and enrich it.

A ceremony to which enthusiastic crowds always flock, and which may be seen in any Orthodox land from the Jordan to the Neva, is the Blessing of the Waters at the Epiphany. It commemorates the Baptism of Christ, but as it has spread from Palestine into the rest of the Orthodox world, so it has widened its significance to include the touch of the other world upon the waters which give life and fruitfulness to the earth. And a charming ceremony it is, best seen perhaps in the cold countries where at that season of the year the rivers are frozen. There great blocks of ice are cut out of the surface, and from them an altar is built, the cross upon which is also fashioned from ice. The vested clergy and their attendants are grouped around and with them the crowds of worshippers and sightseers.

[1] Fedotov: *The Russian Religious Mind*, Harvard, 1946, p. 369.

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781 The waters are blessed by dipping the cross into them with the
796 appropriate prayers. At the Jordan, multitudes of the excited people plunge into the newly blessed river, and even in cold climates there are hardy enthusiasts who will leap through the hole in the ice.[1]

781 All this and much more is the happy side of the realization that the unseen world of light and life enters into this other dark gross world of sin and suffering. But there is another aspect of it which finds expression in what is a characteristic cry of Orthodoxy—"*Lord have mercy.*"

Toynbee has written[2] that one element in Russia's inheritance from Byzantium is the conviction that Byzantium, and then Russia is always right. In matters of State policy, both secular and ecclesiastical, this may well be so. But there is a sense in which the Orthodox has the conviction that he is always wrong. Not only is he aware of his failures and shortcomings in his relations with his fellows, but he expresses it. A Russian in saying "good-bye" to a friend may use a word which equally well means "forgive". If he is a devout person, he may seek his acquaintances and ask their forgiveness, not necessarily with any specific wrongdoing in his mind, on solemn occasions, as, for instance, when he intends to make his communion. A vivid sense of man's need of the divine compassion of forgiveness is woven into the very fabric of Orthodox religion. The words "Lord have mercy" are constantly on the lips of the Orthodox and they are repeated, over and over again in the course of worship.

781 The scene may be in a cathedral church on September 14,
796 the Festival of the Exaltation of the Cross. A platform has been erected in the centre of the church, and upon this a group of men stand. They hold in their hands a huge and resplendent cross. Very slowly, by almost imperceptible degrees they raise it, holding it in a vertical position, and lifting it higher and higher, until they can reach no further. The cross remains for a moment, poised at its highest elevation, above the heads of the bearers, above the watching eyes of the

[1] In Greece a cross is thrown into the sea with a ribbon attached by which it is retrieved. In town churches the ceremony of blessing the water may take place at the font.

[2] *Civilization on Trial*, p. 164 ff., Oxford, 1948.

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vast multitude of worshippers who throng the church on all sides. Then with the same slow deliberation it is gradually lowered again to the ground. During this action a choir is singing, and many of the congregation whispering—"Lord have mercy"—just that one phrase over and over again, beginning softly on a very low note and rising in pitch and increasing in volume until the cross is at its maximum height, when the whole building reverberates with the reiterated appeal which slowly dies away again as the cross descends. Then the whole action is repeated to the same accompaniment, and more than once. The number of repetitions must run into hundreds. To many Western minds they will doubtless appear "vain repetitions". But the look on the faces of the worshippers will perhaps give pause to the expression of any such sentiment. The dramatic action expresses something very deeply implanted in the religious consciousness of the Orthodox, the feeling of human unworthiness and its need of the divine compassion, the sense of being imprisoned in the dark and crude elements of this world and the appeal for light and liberation.

Closely allied to it is the awareness of a positive value in suffering and humility, even of humiliation. One meets many members of the Orthodox Church whom political events and recent decades have reduced from riches to poverty or from a reasonable degree of material comfort to almost none at all. But very rarely indeed is there any sign of bitterness and resentment in their reaction. The vivid awareness of the other world does much to soften the asperities of this, and that unseen world is peopled by those who have suffered, it is ruled by the Christ Who humbled Himself.

Another scene may illustrate this, the ceremony of the Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday—which again will pack the church to the doors and beyond. A large dais has been erected in the centre and on it are twelve seats in two rows facing each other. Upon each seat is a bishop fully vested. At a certain point in the service, the chief bishop present, who has been conducting it, lays aside his episcopal vestments, girds himself with a towel and takes a basin and water. He ascends the dais and goes to each of the seated bishops in turn,

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kneels in front of him, removes his foot-gear first from one foot, then from the other, and washes and dries his feet. He replaces the socks and shoes and passes on to the next. When he comes to the one who represents St. Peter, the latter makes the protest recorded in St. John's Gospel and his reluctance has to be overborne before his feet are washed. Finally the officiant resumes his vestments and the main service continues its course. How long does all this take? It does not matter, no one minds or even notices how long. It is all done in absolute silence. All that is audible is the breathing of one's immediate neighbours among the tense crowd of worshippers.

Here too is something particularly real to the Orthodox spirit which is an echo of individual experience, or at least of individual aspiration constantly known. Humiliation may even be sought after from religious motives, and exceptionally this may take oddly extreme forms. The bizarre and well-nigh incredible figure whom the Russians call "Yurodivi", which may be translated the "Fool for Christ's sake"[1] could only be found within the Eastern Orthodox world. He may be really deficient mentally, and as such, in the Russian view, under the special protection of God. He may also be the man who in pursuit of humility and in praise of it deliberately assumed a character of foolishness, and courted the jeers of those he met, inviting their mockery as he roamed from village to village—a fantastic figure, but one who has his meed of reverence too, for the grace that he seeks is loved.

The Orthodox has more to remind him of the unseen world than those who dwell in lands in which religion assumes forms that are more austere. Though for centuries under Turkish rule he was deprived of such outward signs of religion, so that at times he was wont to build his church half buried in the ground to aid concealment, yet with the return of freedom he set up his shrines at street corners and along the wayside. Icons are not confined to the churches, they are to be found in the houses, in every room of a devout household. The living-room will have an icon in a position stereotyped by custom, and a visitor will salute it on entering as he greets his host. Especially in Russia of pre-revolution days, icons were

[1] See 1 Corinthians iv, 10.

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to be seen everywhere, at the railway stations, in the shops, in prisons and barracks and all sorts of public buildings. 771

A further reminder is provided by events in the yearly round marked by the Church Kalendar. This has perhaps a more intimate touch upon the lives of Orthodox people, so many of whom are peasants for whom the festivals of the Church are closely associated with the recurrent seasons in Nature and with agricultural work. 771 796

The Orthodox Kalendar is in its framework the same as the Western. That is to say it is built up around the Great Festivals which are common to the whole of Christendom, Easter being the chief of all. But there is no Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Whitsuntide is used by the Orthodox for the commemoration of All Saints. Thereafter the Sundays are counted after Whit Sunday. In the course of the year many of the Sundays are given names, e.g., the first Sunday after Easter is known as the Sunday of St. Thomas, and in general the names are derived from the Gospel appointed for the day. The first Sunday in Lent is Orthodox Sunday (see p. 54) when blessings are invoked upon the champions of Orthodoxy and anathemas upon its foes. There is no season of Advent. 796

Every day is marked as the commemoration of a saint, and sometimes of more than one. Here differences will be found in various parts of the Orthodox world owing to the introduction of the names of local saints, and the differences from the West are remarkable. The Orthodox Kalendar contains the names of most of the Old Testament Prophets and Patriarchs and almost none of the Western saints find a place in it. If it is compared with the English Kalendar it will be found that practically none of the minor saints belong to both Kalendars. An outstanding exception is St. George on April 23, who is highly venerated in the East as the Great Martyr.

The times of fasting prescribed by the Orthodox Church are more frequent than in any part of the West. In addition to Lent, which begins in the East on the Monday after Quinquagesima, and is known as the Great Lent, another fasting period is the first fortnight of August, another is the six weeks before Christmas, and there is still another of varying length 785 796

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between the octave of Whit Sunday and June 29, the festival of St. Peter and Paul.

Even outside these periods there are many days upon which the Orthodox faithful are expected to use only abstinence food, including, with a few exceptions, all Wednesdays and Fridays.

Furthermore, fasting itself is a much more rigorous affair among the Orthodox than it is in the West. It involves abstinence from any food of animal origin including fish, milk, eggs and butter. Indeed, the strict observer is left with little but bread, fruit and vegetables.

The extent to which this formidable programme is actually carried out is difficult to estimate. Doubtless like other observances of religion it has less hold upon people than it had, and town dwellers sit more lightly to it than the peasantry. Nevertheless, the Orthodox probably fulfil their obligation in this respect to an extent which would surprise the easy-going Westerner. Many of the devout are strict about it, and those who practise their religion at all will observe at least the first and last few days of the prescribed periods of fasting.

To the Orthodox, religion is very much concerned with this world as well as with the next, and fasting is of importance not only as a discipline of the human will. It expresses also the impact of the spiritual upon the material, the control of the world which is seen, by the power of the unseen world. It plays its part in causing the material to serve spiritual ends, and thus the human will shares in the process of rescuing and restoring the fallen world of Nature.

The clergy are a visible link between the two worlds. The parish priest with his flowing cassock and unshorn hair stands apart. He is and is seen to be distinct from other men. He is a reminder of the unseen spiritual world in which both he and his flock are living even while they live in the day-to-day world of material things, and his ministrations apply the power of the spirit to daily life.

Yet if he stands apart, he does not stand aloof. The parochial clergy throughout the Orthodox East are required to be married men. But they must marry before they are ordained. Once they are ordained marriage is forbidden them.